

II. Global and regional trends and developments in multilateral peace operations

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In 2019, United Nations peace operations continued to suffer from budget cuts. Despite research showing positive contributions by UN peacekeeping operations, there was increasing cynicism in the political arena regarding their effectiveness. In addition, concerns remained about the physical security of UN personnel. These developments affect the global and regional trends in multilateral peace operations—their numbers, the organizations leading them, the personnel deployed in them, their locations, the personnel contributors to them and the fatalities they suffer, as well as developments in other multilateral operations.

Multilateral peace operations in 2019

Sixty-one multilateral peace operations were active globally in 2019 (see figure 2.2).¹ This was one more than in the previous year.² The UN led 22 operations, regional organizations and alliances led 33 operations, and ad hoc coalitions of states led 6 operations.³ Most of the operations have been deployed for a long time: 50 of them have been active for more than five years and 32 for longer than 10 years.

Two multilateral peace operations ended in 2019. These were the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH), which withdrew involuntarily after its mandate expired on 31 January 2019, and the UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH), which terminated as planned on 15 October 2019. TIPH was established pursuant to the 1995 Oslo II Accord between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization and had been active in its then-current form since 1997.⁴ The exit of TIPH in 2019 was the consequence of a unilateral decision by the Government of Israel to

¹ The quantitative analysis draws on data collected by SIPRI to examine trends in peace operations. According to SIPRI's definition, a multilateral peace operation must have the stated intention of: (a) serving as an instrument to facilitate the implementation of peace agreements already in place, (b) supporting a peace process or (c) assisting conflict prevention or peacebuilding efforts. Good offices, fact-finding or electoral assistance missions and missions comprising non-resident individuals or teams of negotiators are not included. Since all SIPRI data is reviewed on a continual basis and adjusted when more accurate information becomes available, the statistics in this chapter may not always fully correspond with data found in previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook or other SIPRI publications.

² See Smit, T., 'Global trends and developments in peace operations', *SIPRI Yearbook 2019*, pp. 147–58.

³ The UN–African Union (AU) Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) is included in the totals for the UN and excluded from the totals for the AU.

⁴ A previous version of TIPH was active in Hebron between May and Aug. 1994.

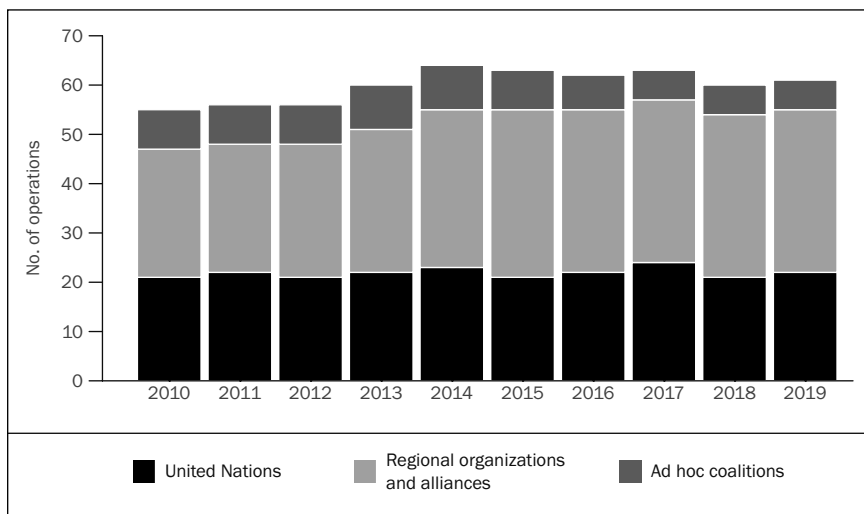


Figure 2.2. Number of multilateral peace operations by type of conducting organization, 2010–19

not extend its mandate.⁵ MINUJUSTH was established in 2017 to succeed the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) for the intended duration of two years.⁶ Its closure was the last step in the gradual withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from Haiti that began eight years earlier in 2011.

Three multilateral peace operations started in 2019. These were: the European Union (EU) Integrated Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) in Libya, which henceforth qualified as a multilateral peace operation following the entry into force of its new mandate on 1 January 2019; the UN Mission to Support the Hodeidah Agreement (UNMHA) in Yemen, which was established on 16 January 2019; and the UN Integrated Office in Haiti (BINUH), which succeeded MINUJUSTH on 16 October 2019.

None of these operations came about unexpectedly. The expansion of EUBAM Libya's mandate and the planning for a UN mission in Yemen had been authorized in December 2018, while the timeline for the transition into a UN non-peacekeeping presence in Haiti had been known since 2017. EUBAM Libya had been active since 2013 but did not previously qualify as a multilateral peace operation due to its narrow focus on border management. As of 1 January 2019 it was also mandated to support capacity building and institutional reform in law enforcement and criminal justice in Libya (see chapter 6). UNMHA was mandated to support the implementation of the Agreement on the City of Hodeidah and the Ports of Hodeidah, Salif, and Ras Issa, which was part of the December 2018 Stockholm Agreement.

⁵ BBC, 'Hebron: Palestinians denounce Israeli decision to end observer mission', 30 Jan. 2019.

⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 2350, 13 Apr. 2017, para. 22.

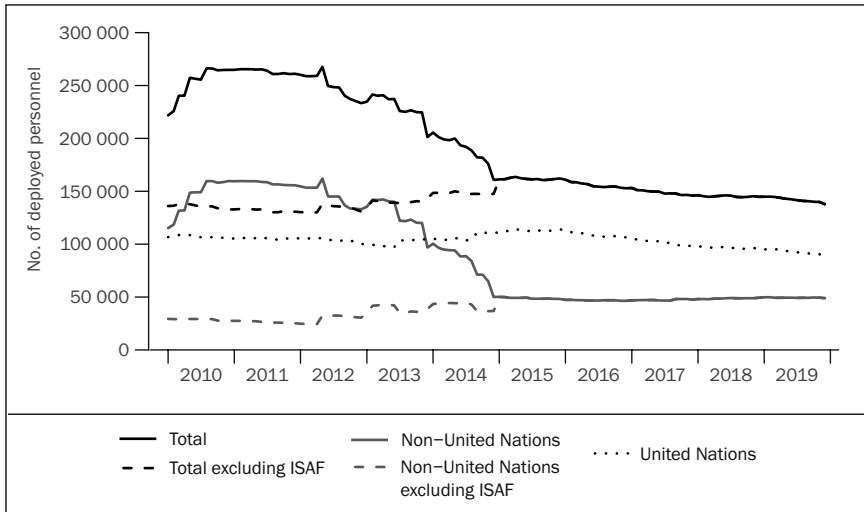


Figure 2.3. Number of personnel in multilateral peace operations, 2010–19

ISAF = International Security Assistance Force

Personnel deployments

The number of personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations decreased by 4.8 per cent during 2019, from 144 791 on 31 December 2018 to 137 781 on 31 December 2019 (see figure 2.3).⁷ Aggregate personnel levels at the global level declined for the fourth consecutive year and for the eighth time in the past decade. As a consequence, the number of personnel that were serving in peace operations was lower in December 2019 than in any other month in 2010–19. The high number of personnel deployed and the relatively large year-on-year changes thereof during 2010–14 were primarily attributable to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, which was led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). From 2015 onwards, when ISAF was no longer active, the developments in terms of personnel deployments were primarily driven by peace operations conducted by the UN and deployed in sub-Saharan Africa. This was also the case in 2019 (see below).

⁷ The analyses of personnel levels in this chapter are based on estimates of the number of international personnel (military, police and international civilian staff) deployed at the end of each month in each of the multilateral peace operations that were active in the period Jan. 2010 to Dec. 2019. In previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook, similar analyses used annual snapshot data on the number of international personnel in multilateral peace operations at the end of each year or, in the case of an operation terminated during a calendar year, on the number at their closure. Consequently, the data in this chapter does not exactly match the data used in previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook.

Organizations conducting multilateral peace operations

United Nations

The UN conducted 22 multilateral peace operations in 2019, which was 1 more than in the previous year.⁸ The closure of MINUJUSTH brought to an end the continuous presence of UN peacekeepers in Haiti that began with the deployment of MINUSTAH in 2004. This followed the ending of similar, long-running and once-major UN peacekeeping efforts in Liberia in 2018 and Côte d'Ivoire in 2017. The two peace operations that the UN established in 2019—BINUH and UNMHA—are relatively small-sized special political missions (SPMs), similar to the SPMs that were established in Colombia in 2016 and 2017. The UN has not established a major new peacekeeping operation since 2014.

The number of personnel serving in UN operations decreased by 7.0 per cent during 2019, from 95 488 on 31 December 2018 to 88 849 on 31 December 2019 (see figure 2.3).⁹ The last time that the UN had fewer people in its peace operations was in 2007, before the deployment of the UN–African Union (AU) Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). The number of personnel deployed in UN peace operations peaked at 115 000 in 2015 and decreased in the four consecutive years thereafter.

Most of the change in 2019 can be attributed to the closure of MINUJUSTH and to the downscaling of UNAMID, the UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) and the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). MONUSCO and UNAMID faced decreased personnel ceilings implemented in 2019 due to scheduled gradual drawdowns. The UN Security Council decided to reduce the number of authorized military personnel in lieu of police personnel for MINUSMA and UNISFA. These five operations together cut deployments by approximately 6500 personnel. Nonetheless, the UN continued to deploy far more personnel in peace operations than any other organization in 2019.

While the total number of personnel serving in all UN peace operations decreased during 2019, the number and proportion of women among the personnel of UN peace operations (military, police and international civilian staff) increased for the third year in a row, from 6304 (6.6 per cent of total) on 31 December 2018 to 6914 (7.7 per cent of total) on 31 December 2019. With regard to personnel deployments in UN operations in sub-Saharan Africa, which decreased by 7.0 per cent during 2019, the number of deployed women increased by 12 per cent from 4953 (6.2 per cent of total) on 31 December

⁸ This includes UNAMID.

⁹ This includes only international personnel in UN peace operations that meet the SIPRI definition of a multilateral peace operation.

2018 to 5552 (7.5 per cent of total) on 31 December 2019. In particular, the number of women deployed to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) increased by 26 per cent (from 748 to 943).

Regional organizations and alliances

Regional organizations and alliances conducted 33 multilateral peace operations in 2019, which is the same number as in the previous year. The number of personnel serving in these operations decreased by 0.6 per cent during the year, from 46 842 on 31 December 2018 to 46 569 on 31 December 2019. The main development behind this was the withdrawal of 575 troops from the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Since the termination of ISAF in 2014, the number of personnel in regional peace operations has been stable at about 45 000 on average.

The EU and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) conducted many multilateral peace operations while deploying relatively few personnel in 2019. The EU conducted 13 Common Security and Defence Policy missions and operations that qualified as multilateral peace operations, in which it deployed approximately 2700 personnel on average during the year. The OSCE conducted nine field operations that qualified as multilateral peace operations, in which it deployed approximately 1100 personnel. Most of them were part of the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine. In other words, the EU and the OSCE were responsible for two-thirds of all regional operations in 2019 but accounted for less than a tenth of their personnel.

By contrast, the AU and NATO conducted fewer multilateral peace operations than the EU and the OSCE while deploying relatively large numbers of personnel in 2019. The AU deployed 20 370 personnel in four peace operations, although nearly all of them were part of AMISOM.¹⁰ NATO deployed 20 624 personnel in three peace operations. It was the first time since the end of ISAF that NATO was the regional organization which deployed the most personnel in peace operations. The AU previously held this position, but was overtaken by NATO during 2019 as a consequence of AMISOM's troop reduction.

The other regional organizations that conducted multilateral peace operations were the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Organization of American States (OAS). ECOWAS deployed 1658 personnel in two peace operations, while IGAD and OAS led one peace operation each, in which they deployed 86 and 29 personnel, respectively.

¹⁰ This does not include UNAMID.

Table 2.3. Number of multilateral peace operations and personnel deployed, by region and type of organization, 2019

Conducting organization	Americas	Asia and Oceania	Europe	Middle East and North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	World
Operations	4	5	18	14	20	61
United Nations ^a	3	2	2	7	8	22
Regional organization or alliance	1	1	14	5	12	33
Ad hoc coalition	–	2	2	2	–	6
Personnel	275	17 086	7 819	15 082	97 519	137 781
United Nations ^a	246	346	1 007	13 161	74 089	88 849
Regional organization or alliance	29	16 705	5 751	654	23 430	46 569
Ad hoc coalition	–	35	1 061	1 267	–	2 363

– = not applicable.

^a UN figures include the UN–African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur.

Notes: Numbers of operations cover the year 2019; personnel figures are as of 31 Dec. 2019.

Source: SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database, <<http://www.sipri.org/databases/pko/>>.

Ad hoc coalitions

Ad hoc coalitions of states conducted six multilateral peace operations in 2019, all of which had been active for many years: the International Monitoring Team (IMT) in Mindanao, the Philippines, since 2004; TIPH since 1997; the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1995; the Joint Control Commission (JCC) Joint Peacekeeping Forces in Trans-Dniester, Moldova, since 1992; the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in the Sinai peninsula since 1982; and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) on the Korean peninsula since 1953.

The number of personnel serving in these operations remained relatively constant during 2019, at around 2250. The JCC and MFO consisted of approximately 1100 personnel each; the IMT, NNSC and OHR were much smaller and had fewer than 25 personnel. Until its closure in January 2019, TIPH had around 60 personnel.

Multilateral peace operations by region

Most of the 61 multilateral peace operations in 2019 were active in sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region (see table 2.3). Sub-Saharan Africa continued to host the most peace operations and the most peace operations personnel of all regions

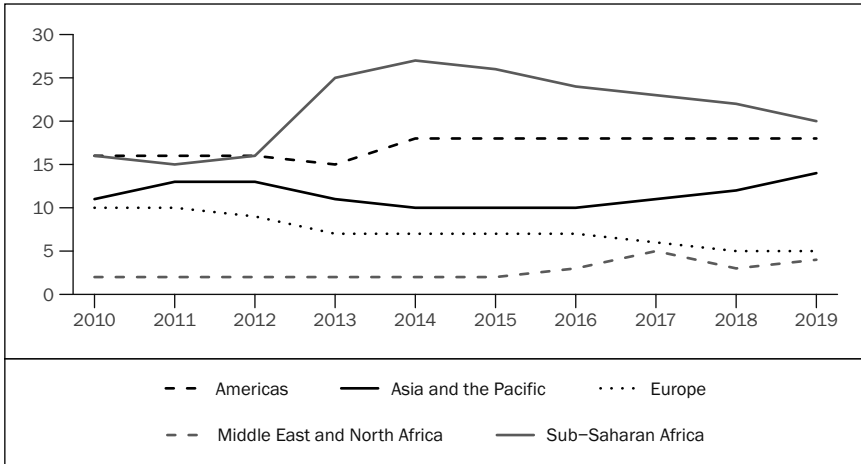


Figure 2.4. Number of multilateral peace operations by region, 2010–19

(see figures 2.4 and 2.5). The personnel levels decreased in all regions during the year except for in MENA.¹¹

The largest multilateral peace operations

Although there were 61 multilateral peace operations active in 2019, the 10 largest ones accounted for 90 per cent of all deployed personnel (124 274 personnel on 31 December). Of the 10 largest operations, 7 were UN peace-keeping operations and 7 were deployed in sub-Saharan Africa. While most of the operations reduced their size throughout 2019, their ranking remained mostly constant except for MONUSCO, which moved from second to fourth place in November.

For the fifth year in a row, AMISOM was the largest multilateral peace operation in 2019 (see figure 2.6). This was despite a force reduction authorized in October 2018 and enacted by March 2019, which set the total size of AMISOM to 20 370 personnel. Six additional multilateral peace operations had more than 10 000 personnel as of 31 December 2019 (see figure 2.6). With fewer than 10 000 personnel, UNAMID, UNISFA and the NATO-led Kosovo Force were also among the 10 largest multilateral peace operations, with the latter two being considerably smaller than the other operations in the top 10.

¹¹ For regional discussions of multilateral peace operations, see the following chapters in this volume: the Americas, chapter 3, section I; Asia and Oceania, chapter 4, section I; Europe, chapter 5, section I; MENA, chapter 6, section I; and sub-Saharan Africa, chapter 7, section I.

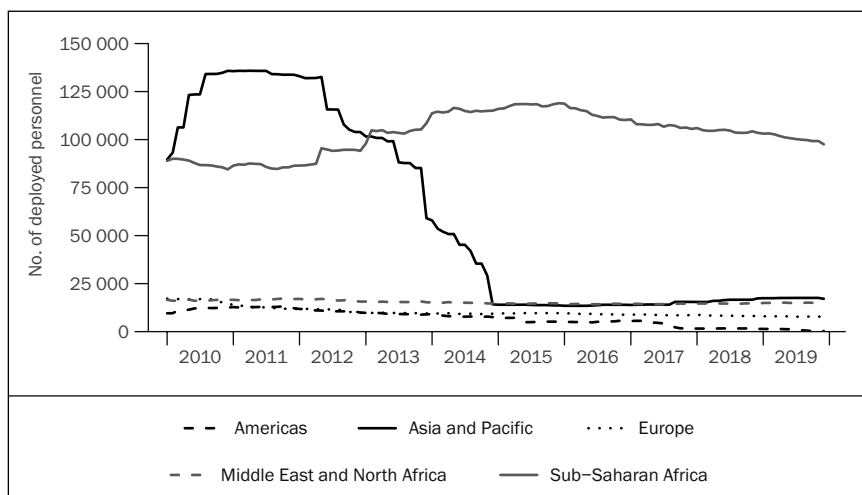


Figure 2.5. Number of personnel in multilateral peace operations by region, 2010–19

The main troop-contributing countries

There was little change in terms of which were the main troop-contributing countries (TCCs) in 2019 compared with 2018. Ethiopia remained the highest TCC to multilateral peace operations in 2019 (see figure 2.7). In December 2019 it was contributing 10 727 military personnel across all operations, mostly to operations in its neighbouring countries, such as AMISOM in Somalia, UNISFA in Abyei and the UN Mission in South Sudan. Although Ethiopia's contribution has been declining since 2018, it has been the highest TCC since 2014, the year in which it joined AMISOM.

The United States was the second-highest TCC to multilateral peace operations in 2019, and the only one from the Global North in the top 10. As of 31 December 2019, it was contributing 9091 personnel, most of which were serving in the NATO-led Resolute Support Mission. It contributed few personnel to UN operations. In comparison to 2018, the USA's contribution decreased slightly, mostly due to 475 personnel withdrawn from Afghanistan.

The remaining countries among the top 10 TCCs to multilateral peace operations as of 31 December 2019 were all from sub-Saharan Africa (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda) or South Asia (Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan). Burundi, Kenya and Uganda rank highly because of large troop contributions to AMISOM. Overall, the top 10 TCCs accounted for half of all military personnel deployed in multilateral peace operations as of 31 December 2019.

There was a decrease in the number of deployed police in multilateral peace operations in 2019, mainly due to the closure of MINUJUSTH. As of 31 December 2019 Senegal was the top police-contributing country (PCC)

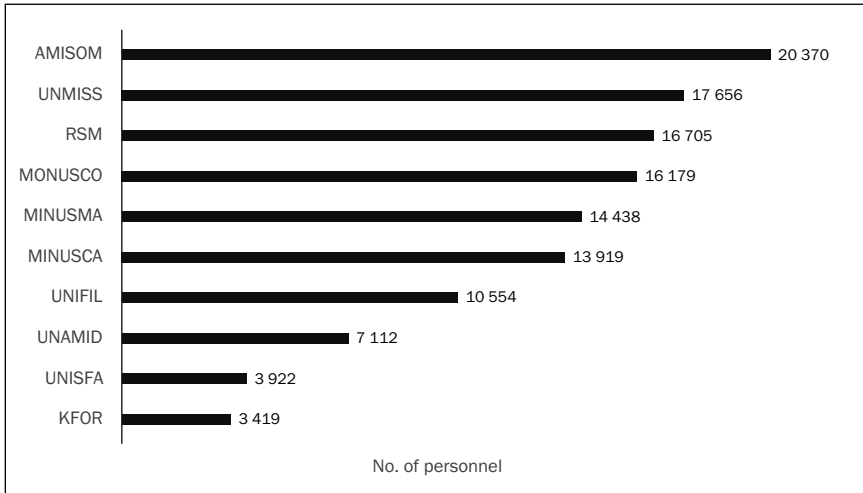


Figure 2.6. Largest multilateral peace operations as of 31 Dec. 2019

AMISOM = African Union (AU) Mission in Somalia; UNMISS = United Nations Mission in South Sudan; RSM = Resolute Support Mission; MONUSCO = UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; MINUSMA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali; MINUSCA = UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic; UNIFIL = UN Interim Force in Lebanon; UNAMID = UN–AU Hybrid Operation in Darfur; UNISFA = UN Interim Security Force for Abyei; KFOR = Kosovo Force.

to police operations, with a contribution of 1204 police personnel—a 12 per cent decrease compared to a year earlier (see figure 2.8). Senegal has been the largest PCC since April 2016, with most of its personnel deployed to the ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau, MINUSCA, MINUSMA and MONUSCO. Out of the 10 largest TCCs, 3 were also among the 10 largest PCCs as of 31 December 2019: Bangladesh, Nepal and Rwanda. The 10 largest PCCs accounted for more than 65 per cent of the police serving in multilateral peace operations as of 31 December 2019.

Fatalities in United Nations peace operations

There were 102 fatalities of UN peace operations personnel in 2019 (see figure 2.9). This was three more than in the previous year, but fewer than in other years in the period 2010–17. The fatalities in 2019 included 28 that resulted from malicious acts (hereafter termed ‘hostile deaths’), which was 1 more than in 2018. Other known causes of death included accidents, illness and suicides.

Uniformed personnel accounted for 65 of the 102 fatalities and 23 of the 28 hostile deaths. This corresponded to a rate of 0.8 fatalities per 1000 uniformed personnel and of 0.3 hostile deaths per 1000 uniformed

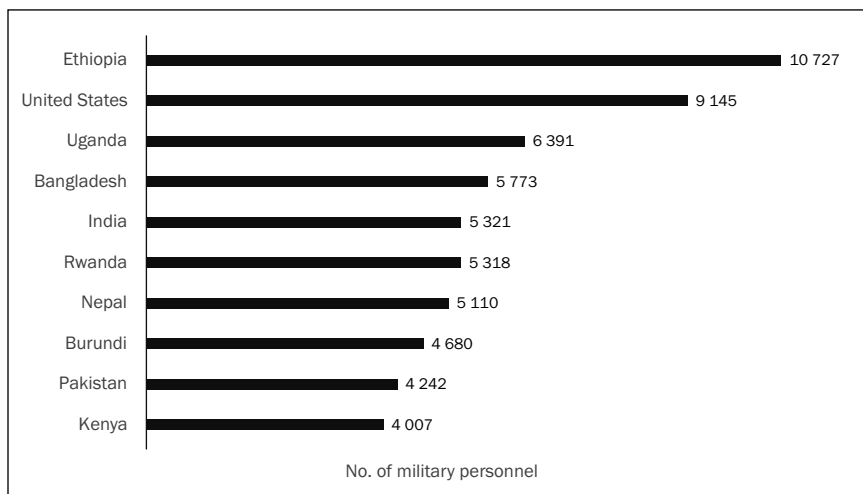


Figure 2.7. Main troop-contributing countries to multilateral peace operations as of 31 Dec. 2019

personnel. These annual rates were very similar to those recorded in 2018 (see figure 2.10).

MINUSMA has been the deadliest concurrent UN peace operation since it was established in 2013. Of the 23 military and police peacekeeper hostile deaths in 2019, 22 were part of MINUSMA. Sixteen of the deaths were due to four different attacks, of which the deadliest was a complex attack against the Aguelhoc camp in northern Mali on 20 January 2019 that killed 9 peacekeepers from Chad and wounded 25 more. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb claimed responsibility for the attack, which it stated was ‘in reaction’ to the visit to Chad of the prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, on the same day.¹²

Whereas MINUSMA continued to experience a high number of hostile deaths, there were relatively few hostile deaths among the personnel in other UN peace operations. One notable event was the death of three civilian personnel from the UN Support Mission in Libya—two international and one local—in a car bomb explosion in Benghazi on 10 August 2019.¹³ The remaining two non-uniformed hostile deaths in UN peace operations in 2019 were one staff member from MINUSCA and one from BINUH. There was only one hostile death among uniformed personnel outside MINUSMA, in UNISFA. As a consequence, the annual hostile death rate of uniformed personnel in all UN peace operations except MINUSMA was 0.01 per 1000—far lower than in any other year since 1990.

¹² Al Jazeera, ‘10 UN peacekeepers killed in attack on Mali’s Aguelhoc camp’, 21 Jan. 2019.

¹³ Al-Warfalli, A., ‘Car bomb explodes in Libya’s Benghazi, killing three UN staff’, Reuters, 10 Aug. 2019.

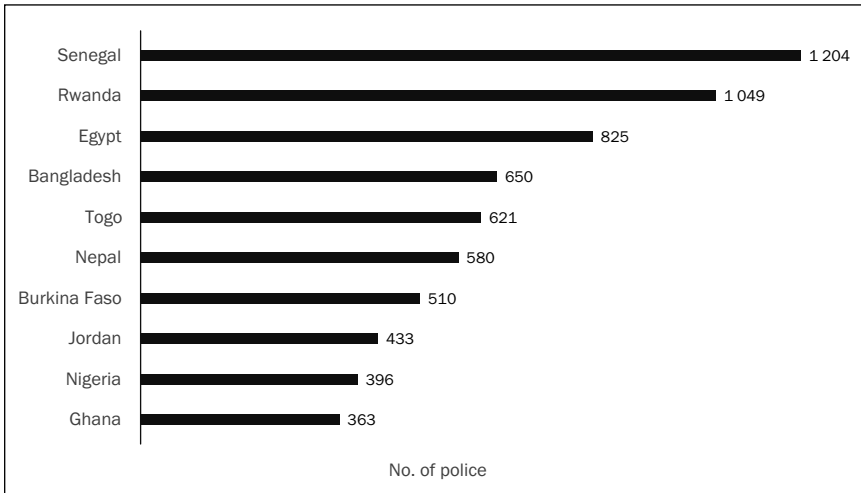


Figure 2.8. Main police-contributing countries to multilateral peace operations as of 31 Dec. 2019

Other multilateral operations

A number of other multilateral organizations were conducting security-related missions and operations in addition to or instead of ordinary multilateral peace operations (as defined by SIPRI). Some of these other multilateral operations play only minor coordinating roles in peacebuilding at the low end of the spectrum of conflict. The high-end other multilateral operations, which are more involved in counter-insurgency and war fighting, have become increasingly visible in the contemporary multilateral operations landscape. These operations are generally either co-located and operating in parallel with multilateral peace operations to execute tasks that peace operations cannot perform, or they are deployed in contexts where or when the deployment of a multilateral peace operation is not appropriate or feasible.

The French-led military Operation Barkhane is one of the most significant examples of an other multilateral operation. Operation Barkhane consisted of 4700 soldiers as well as military ground and air assets in 2019, deployed across the Group of Five for the Sahel (G5S) countries of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. It conducted counterterrorism operations in the G5S countries and provided training to their armed forces. In Mali, the operation was co-located with MINUSMA and authorized by the UN Security Council to intervene in support of the UN operation when it is under ‘imminent and serious threat’.¹⁴ The United Kingdom and Denmark joined

¹⁴ UN Security Council Resolution 2480, 28 June 2019, para. 42. On developments within the armed conflicts in the Sahel and Lake Chad regions, see chapter 7, section II.

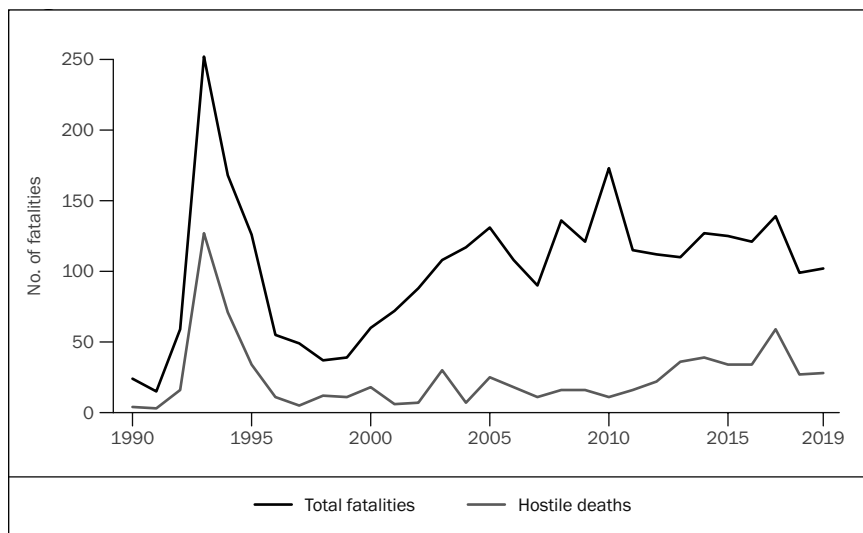


Figure 2.9. Number of fatalities in United Nations peace operations, 1990–2019

Operation Barkhane in 2018 and 2019, respectively, both contributing transport helicopters and supporting military units. Estonia started contributing a force protection platoon to Barkhane in August 2018, and in November 2019 announced its intention to increase its contribution from 50 to 95 troops.¹⁵ Germany, Spain and the USA have been supporting the operation with fixed-wing transport aircraft.¹⁶ France further decided in 2019 to establish a Special Operations Task Force called Takuba as part of Operation Barkhane, to train, advise and accompany into battle military units from G5S countries. The task force is expected to be launched in 2020, and it is envisioned that several of France’s European partners will contribute to it.¹⁷

Further other multilateral operations that warrant mention are the 5000-strong Joint Force of the Group of Five of the Sahel (JF-G5S) and the 10 500-strong Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko Haram led by the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC). These operations are both authorized by the AU Peace and Security Council but not by the UN Security Council. They do not qualify as multilateral peace operations under the SIPRI definition, because they comprise national units operating primarily within their own national territories. The nature of their operations is primarily military counterterrorism or counter-insurgency. The JF-G5S comprises all the G5S countries, whereas the MNJTF comprises Benin and LCBC member

¹⁵ Kelly, F., ‘Estonia parliament approves Mali troop increase for Operation Barkhane’, Defense Post, 8 Nov. 2019.

¹⁶ Ministry of the Armed Forces, ‘Dossier de presse Barkhane.ENG’, [n.d.].

¹⁷ Kelly, F., ‘France expects new international task force Takuba to deploy in Mali “by 2020”’, Defense Post, 6 Nov. 2019.

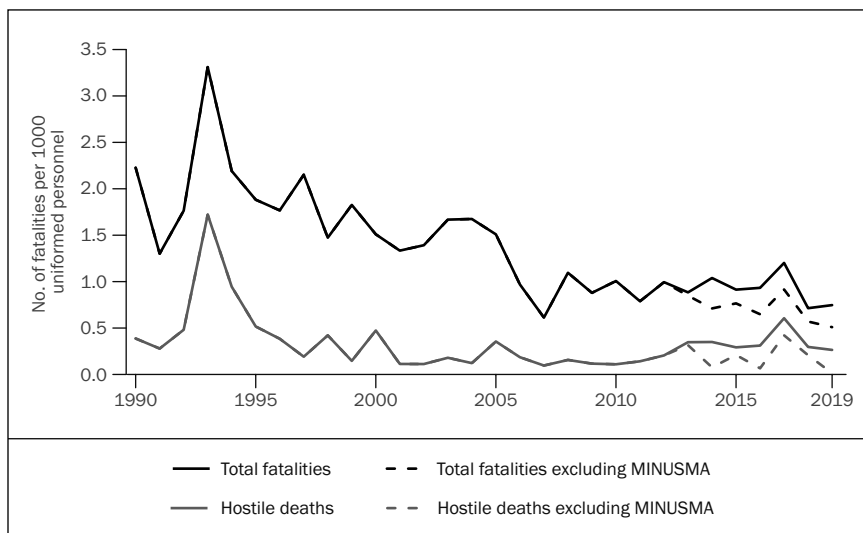


Figure 2.10. Fatality rates for uniformed personnel in United Nations peace operations, 1990–2019

MINUSMA = United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali.

states Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Nigeria, and operates in the border areas of these countries adjacent to Lake Chad. Unlike the JF-G5S, the MNJTF is not co-located with any peace operations. Operation Barkhane, the JF-G5S and the MNJTF together added approximately 20 000 personnel to 97 000 personnel that were deployed in 20 multilateral peace operations in sub-Saharan Africa in 2019.

Events in 2019 also drew renewed attention to the deployment of multilateral or multinational naval operations, which do not qualify as multilateral peace operations. The EU maintained its anti-piracy naval operation along the coast of Somalia—Operation Atalanta. Although the Council of the EU extended EUNAVFOR MED Operation Sophia until March 2020, it suspended the deployment of naval assets until an appropriate solution is found for the disembarkation of rescued migrants. It reinforced surveillance by air assets and support to the Libyan navy and coastguard.¹⁸

Conclusions

Many trends and developments in multilateral peace operations of the past few years continued during 2019. Three are worth highlighting below.

¹⁸ Council of the EU, 'EUNAVFOR MED Operation Sophia: Mandate extended until 31 March 2020', Press Release 609/19, 26 Sep. 2019. On armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa, see chapter 7, section IV, in this volume.

A first trend is that although the total number of multilateral peace operations has remained stable, in the low 60s, since 2015 many of the larger UN peacekeeping operations have continued to draw down or have closed. The total number of UN peace operations during the period 2010–19 has remained relatively stable, at around 22, while the number of multilateral peace operations conducted by ad hoc coalitions has declined and the number of operations deployed by regional organizations has risen. Successor operations and newly established multilateral peace operations tend to be relatively small in size. As a consequence, personnel numbers deployed in UN peacekeeping operations have continued to drop, while those deployed by regional organizations have remained stable except for a personnel reduction in AMISOM. Some of the global capacity to contribute to multilateral peace operations has been deployed to other multilateral operations.

A second trend, which started in 2015 and continued in 2019, is that the attention of multilateral peace operations is moving away from focusing on sub-Saharan Africa. While this region continues to host by far the most multilateral peace operations personnel, the numbers of personnel and operations it hosts have been declining steadily in recent years. Again, this development is mainly explained by the closure of some of the larger UN peacekeeping operations. Some of the attention has shifted to the MENA region. While personnel numbers there have remained stable, the number of often smaller peace operations in this region has increased significantly: there were two more operations active in 2019 than in 2018.

A third trend is that since 2013 the annual hostile death rates in UN peace operations have remained relatively stable but at higher levels than in most years in the preceding decade of the 2000s. These higher levels are mainly explained by the establishment of MINUSMA in 2013, which has been the main UN peace operation suffering from hostile deaths. In fact, excluding MINUSMA, a number of years since 2012 have had the lowest annual rates of hostile deaths since 1990. Remarkably, in 2019 all but one of the hostile deaths among uniformed UN personnel were recorded in MINUSMA. This strongly qualifies one of the main criticisms of UN peacekeeping operations—that they suffer from high numbers of hostile deaths.